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THE WORLD TOMORROW

COERCION—TWO KINDS

GEORGE A. COE

The Cause and Cure of Peace

ROSIKA SCHWIMMER

Buchmanism and Social Vision

JOHN IRVING DANIEL

Reinhold Niebuhr Answers His Critics

FEBRUARY 22nd 33

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the millions of unemployed and destitute masses. Of course, these boys "will be free to go away if they can obtain employment." Let them try to do it!

The Army in Politics

Here is an interesting item from the *Army and Navy Journal:* "I note that Colonel House, the "other President" during the Wilson regime and an aspirant for the same job under the coming administration, is discussing the possibility of a dictator in the United States. He says that there is more danger of a Lenin than of a Mussolini. I can give this comfort to the Colonel. The loyal army and navy will see to it that our present government remains unchanged."

It is a long time since we have heard any such suggestion from the army. We Americans think of the army as a tool for external defense. But the army officer who penned these words is quite within the military tradition by his assurances of loyalty. In moments of internal crisis the army is always called into play and it takes an important part in the final issue. Of course the army is always on the side of the *status quo* unless social disintegration has reached the point where it effects the morale of the army. When the army budget was discussed in Congress last winter, a plea was made pointing out not external but internal dangers to our peace. There was a definite suggestion that the army might be necessary to put down hungry workers. Every government is tempted to suppress revolt by military action rather than by a removal of the causes of revolt. The pious assurances of loyalty on the part of the *Army and Navy Journal* are therefore quite within the best tradition. Whether the army would be as loyal in resisting a Mussolini as a Lenin is of course a large question: or perhaps it is a question which can be easily answered.

Deflating Henry Ford

For the first time in the history of the Detroit automobile industry the workers have begun to stage widespread strikes. The trouble started in the Briggs Manufacturing Company, which is producing bodies for Henry Ford. Ford has apparently so reduced the prices which he pays for these bodies that the company in turn hired its labor at very low rates. Even when the workers had an even flow of work, they apparently did not average much over 30 cents an hour, while they were not paid anything for the "dead" time which they lost while waiting at their jobs for work which, because of stoppages or other reasons, did not come. This in some cases brought their earnings down to as low as 10 cents an hour for all time spent in the factory and, after deducting for the cost of car-fare, actually gave many of the workers less than they had formerly been receiving from their meager allowances from public relief.

In resentment against these conditions, the workers in the Briggs plant struck and in so doing tied up the Ford factories, which were dependent upon the former for their bodies. Since the A. F. of L. has made no real effort to organize the industry, the only groups available to lead the strike in its early stages were the Communists and their Auto Workers' Industrial Union. The Communist leaders have since been forced out by the rank and file of the strikers. While the Briggs strike has by now largely subsided, additional strikes have broken out in the plant of the Hudson Company and bid fair to develop in certain other factories as well. It is an interesting commentary on the change in public opinion during the last three years that despite the affiliations of the leaders, the sentiment in Detroit has been strongly on the side of the strikers.

In the midst of the trouble, the newly elected Democratic Governor of Michigan, William A. Comstock, who campaigned for the abolition of the state police, has sent a member of that gentry to the Briggs Company at the supposed request of Judge William F. Connally, who, in addition to being the treasurer of the company, also happens to be the boss of the Democratic organization in Detroit. These state police, if the testimony of the strikers can be believed, have been active in forcibly breaking up the picket lines and in trying to coerce the strikers into going back to work. Further evidence is thus afforded of the way in which the hearts of the Democratic leaders beat for the common man.

The New Model Ford

The new Ford car is out. The announcements speak of many refinements on the new model, which is offered to the buying public at about $30 less than last year's price. This reduction is made in spite of the fact that production is less than one-third of what it is in normal times. Perhaps there is a connection between these low prices and the ten-cent-an-hour wage which the Briggs Company, which manufactures bodies for Mr. Ford, pays some of its workers. We do not suggest that for this reason it is advisable to declare a buying strike on Mr. Ford's cars. The labor policy of all the automobile works is so wretched that there is little to choose between them. It is well for automobile purchasers to remember, however, that when they buy a De Luxe Ford phaeton for $545, the life blood of the workers is upon it. The low price is not so much the victory of good engineering as the result of a labor policy in comparison with which labor conditions in England in the middle of the nineteenth century seem like pure benevolence. That is how our capitalistic system works. Low prices are meant to appeal to a deflated market but the market is further deflated by reducing the workers to penury. Yet the President of Harvard University maintains that we could re-establish prosperity if only wages could be lowered so that goods could be produced at a profit.

Does Norbeck Mean Business?

The actions of the Senate sub-committee which is investigating the stock-market and financial practices of a number of corporations and banks are raising an uneasy feeling in the breasts of those who would like to see these matters thoroughly probed. It will be recalled that the committee's counsel last spring was forced out after what seemed to have been a stormy session. Then last month, Irving Ben Cooper, formerly of Samuel Seabury's staff, resigned as chief counsel on the ground that he had been refused a free hand. Only last week another member of the staff resigned, charging that the committee had failed to follow up certain gross delinquencies which he had unearthed. Certainly the conduct of the Kreuger-Toll investigations did not bring out anything new nor disclose who sold Kreuger stock during the hours when the news of that swindler's death was being withheld from the general public.

That there has been dissension inside the committee is fairly well known. We can only hope that Chairman Norbeck will conduct the forthcoming Insull investigation in such a manner as to dispel all suspicion and to throw much-needed light on the activities of that gentleman and his associates not only in his holding but in his operating companies as well.

Haya de la Torre Lives

A startling illustration of the harm which can be done to international relations and the progress of progressive social movements by careless handling of news is afforded by the Associated Press dispatches appearing in newspapers on the first of February, and more or less belittling, by implication at least, the efforts of a group of distinguished American liberals and radicals to free Victor Raul Haya de la Torre from a Peruvian prison. Haya de la Torre has long been an outstanding leader of the rising generation in Latin America seeking at once to build a new socialized culture, free from domestic reaction and imperialistic intervention from the outside. Leader of the Peruvian Apra movement, he ran for president of Peru as the candidate of a party whose platform and methods approximate most closely perhaps to the British Independent Labor Party. He made a splendid run, receiving some 110,000 votes. The government of Peru on numerous occasions has sought to implicate him in armed uprisings but has not been able to do so because to convict him would require too great a stretch of the imagination even for a despotic regime. Haya de la Torre has been held in prison, however, for months. Consequently, it was altogether fitting that the following petition to Señor Don Manuel de Freyre y Santander, the Peruvian ambassador at Washington, should have been signed by Jane Addams, John Dewey, Waldo Frank, Hubert Herring, Paul Kellogg, H. L. Mencken, Frederico de Onis, Jeanette Rankin, and Charles Thomson:

> With all due respect and without any desire to meddle in the internal politics of Peru, we wish to petition for the welfare of Victor Haya de la Torre, held "incommunicado" without trial in the Lima penitentiary since May 6, 1932. We would add our word to that of such world figures as Romain Rolland, who called Señor Haya "an honor to Iberian thought"; Georges Duhamel; Ortega y Gassett; Unamuno; Dr. Gregorio Maranon; Harold Laski; Dr. Marett, Rector of Exeter College; Barrett Brown, Principal of Ruskin College, both of Oxford University; the poetess Gabriela Mistral; Manuel Ugarte; Waldo Frank and hundreds of others who have already petitioned. The fact that the Congresses of Argentina, Colombia, Costa Rica and Ecuador have protested also indicates that Haya de la Torre is a figure of international significance, whose labors for Latin American solidarity and in behalf of all causes opposing foreign imperialism, have aroused respect of men everywhere. We are sure that Your Excellency will respect this universal opinion concerning Haya, for we feel that you are truly anxious to uphold the good name of Peru before the world as a country where liberty and free government may prosper. . . .
>
> We cannot too strongly impress upon Your Excellency that during the years he resided in the intellectual centers of Europe, Haya de la Torre did honor to the name of Peru by his brilliant exposition of Latin American problems. His personality contributed in no small measure to impress upon European thinkers the latent capacities of countries which hitherto had entered very little into their thinking, and added particular lustre to the land of his birth. It seems to us, therefore, of the greatest importance that the impression of Peru which was received through the contacts of Haya de la Torre outside his native country should be enhanced by the news that the government of his country had proceeded toward him as a political enemy in a noble and magnanimous way.

The Baltimore *Sun* reported in these terms the presentation of this petition: "Pan-American intellectual leaders today gave the ambassador from Peru his most difficult diplomatic task—obtaining the release from prison of a man dead six months." Nothing could have cast greater gloom over any intelligent observer of Latin American affairs, because if any person can be relied upon to promote a thorough-going new deal in South America, it is this brilliant exponent of organized socialism. If it is true, as friends of de la Torre are complaining, that the Baltimore *Sun,* in running a "correction," asserted that de la Torre participated in the July armed uprising, when he had already been imprisoned for two months before, we can only express profound regret. In various parts of the country, the names of those who signed this estimable petition were ridiculed by headline writers. Our regret is mitigated, nevertheless, by the one outstanding fact: namely, that Haya de la Torre still lives. Possibly, this incident will only serve, as it should, to awaken a wider circle of progressive-minded people in the United States to a new assertion of their interest in de la Torre and the cause which he so ably leads.

Disinterested Counsel

Until the details are published, Mr. Roosevelt's great project for the development of power, for reforestation, for flood control, and for increased employment in the states affected by Muscle Shoals and Cove Creek can hardly be evaluated. It is enough thus far to say that the President-elect deserves a certain encouragement in his willingness to make plans along lines of public ownership and operation even though these fall woefully short of the existing need. But he is receiving some discouragement as well as praise. Mr. William States Lee, who made a survey for the government ten years ago, declared on February 4, at Charlotte, North Caroina, that "The more people that work for the government, the nearer we approach socialism. I cannot believe that this country is ready to go into socialism. Hence why should we be pursuing this policy? The greatest factor in the development of America has been American initiative; and certainly when the government goes out and competes with its citizens in business, the great American initiative will be destroyed." In his report of a decade ago, Mr. Lee argued against government operation of Muscle Shoals. Mr. Lee is President of the National Engineers Council. Mr. Lee is former President of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers. Mr. Lee is also Vice-President and chief engineer of the Duke Power Company.

Catholics Reconsider Birth Control

Birth control, more than merely tolerated, is approved and promoted by the Cosmos and Damian Associates, an organization of Roman Catholic physicians that recently held a seminar upon the subject in the city of Chicago. Its members, some of them at least, actually are teaching women how to space their babies at will. The method, called the "natural" one, is that of abstinence from intercourse during a portion of each lunar month. The uncertainties of this method are to be overcome, these physicians think, by correct calculation of the period of monthly sterility.

Thus, at last, instead of merely resisting the movement for strictly voluntary parenthood, the great Catholic body begins to prepare itself for participating in it. This change, which will surprise many, is both less profound and yet more profound than upon the surface it appears to be. Less profound because Catholic ethics already permit sex intercourse for other purposes than procreation—yes, in a sense puts a divine seal upon it in the sacrament that permits it. This permission has merely carried the proviso that if conception unintentionally occurs it shall be accepted as the will of God. What has been and still is forbidden is the use of contraceptives. The "natural" way always has been open to married couples. Therefore no specific act hitherto forbidden is now approved.

Yet the new move is deeply significant because of its motivation, its procedure, and its new linkage of science with ethics. These physicians are troubled over the bringing into the world of children who, under present economic conditions, never will have opportunity for normal bodily, mental, and moral growth. What injustice could be deeper than this? What duty could be clearer than the prevention of it? Therefore, a kind of birth control that hitherto has been merely permitted is now deliberately furthered and its uncertainties reduced to the utmost by scientific study. The consequence, accepted and intended, is reduction in the number of births in certain areas of the population. The old theological praise of fecundity on the ground that every birth extends the range within which divine grace may operate is here abandoned.

Moreover, one of the chief arguments advanced by Catholic writers against the use of contraceptives is now, by implication, completely vacated—the argument that if uncertainty with respect to conception is removed, a debasing degree of sex indulgence will follow. For these physicans are endeavoring to remove this uncertainty for about two-thirds of every month, thereby offering to the faithful the precise temptation that accompanies contraceptives. The fact is that the self-debasement argument is *a priori* and unproved, though it naturally appeals to clerical celibates. A second Catholic objection to contraceptives, that they are not "natural", as continence is assumed to be, still stands with these physicians, it seems. But the standing is slippery and grows increasingly more so. The speculative way of determining what is natural will not permanently hold any body of scientific physicans. From their point of view the continence that they recommend for a part of each month except when babies are wanted deflects the course of nature precisely as contraceptives would. Moreover, it is safe to say that the Catholic physicians of the future will base their approvals and disapprovals, whether of continence or of contraceptives, upon a comparison of the psycho-physical results of each. Science, not clerical guesses, will have the last word.

Approximately 16 Millions Jobless

A conservative periodical, *The Business Week*, spokesman for a powerful group of manufacturers, has recently published an estimate that the total number of unemployed in the United States in November, 1932, was in excess of 15 millions. When dependents are included, this figure "means that 37½ million men, women and children" were directly and immediately affected by unemployment. This publication further points out that the volume of unemployment in January and February has been much higher than in the preceding November, so that the total number of jobless throughout the nation has risen beyond 16 million.

Many readers will desire to spend time absorbing the meaning of the following table:

UNEMPLOYMENT CENSUS

Industry	Gainfully Employed April, 1930	Unemployed November, 1932	Per Cent Unemployed
Agriculture			
Owners and Tenants	6,018,000	20,000	.....
Farm Laborers	4,464,000	1,766,000	39.6
Total	10,482,000	1,786,000	17.0
Forestry and Fishing	270,000	108,000	40.0
Extraction of Minerals			
Coal Mining	691,000	283,000	40.9
Oil and Gas Well Operation	199,000	83,000	41.7
All Other	268,000	158,000	59.0
Total	1,158,000	524,000	45.2
Manufacturing and Mechanical			
Building	2,562,000	2,057,000	80.3
Chemical	621,000	180,000	29.0
Tobacco	150,000	42,000	28.0
Textile	1,975,000	537,000	27.2
Foods	907,000	142,000	15.6
Clay, Stone and Glass	372,000	184,000	49.5
Iron and Steel	2,385,000	1,078,000	45.2
Lumber	860,000	462,000	53.7
Leather	374,000	105,000	28.1
Paper and Printing	785,000	189,000	24.1
Non-Ferrous Metals	332,000	138,000	41.6
Vehicles	640,000	369,000	57.7
All Others	2,355,000	1,135,000	48.3
Total	14,318,000	6,618,000	46.2
Transportation			
Steam Railroads	1,583,000	608,000	38.4
Telephone and Telegraph	578,000	151,000	26.2
Garages and Service Stations	424,000	248,000	58.5
Street Railways and Buses	196,000	53,000	27.1
All Others	1,658,000	624,000	37.7
Total	4,439,000	1,684,000	38.1
Trade	7,537,000	1,613,000	21.5
Public Service	1,058,000	114,000	10.8
Professional Service	3,426,000	363,000	10.6
Domestic and Personal Service			
Hotels and Restaurants	1,352,000	412,000	30.5
Laundries and Dry Cleaning	419,000	77,000	18.4
All Others	3,041,000	1,203,000	39.6
Total	4,812,000	1,692,000	35.2
Miscellaneous Industries	1,333,000	750,000	56.1
GRAND TOTALS	48,833,000	15,252,000	31.2

Let the fact be noted that of the nearly 49 million persons gainfully employed in April, 1930, nearly one-third were idle two and a half years later. The problem of relief has consequently assumed such titanic dimensions as to make obligatory huge Federal appropriations for outright relief. Moreover, the extreme likelihood that the volume of unemployment will remain at an appallingly high level for years to come makes imperative the speedy inauguration of a national scheme of compulsory unemployment insurance.

"Labor Action"

As an important phase of its energetic activity to help workers organize in the face of oppression and persecution; to purge trade unions of corruption, racketeering, and incompetence; and to build up a militant movement that will serve as a corrective of the orthodox unions' tendencies to compromise, the Conference for Progressive Labor Action has begun the publication of a new four-page weekly newspaper. The first issue of *Labor Action* is at hand, and while perforce it is economically printed, it has been put together in a vigorous, live and forthright fashion which, within its scope, ought to appeal to working men and women. We confess that in so far as the C. P. L. A. has been interested in the formation of a separate labor party, we have not been able to follow its reasoning; this does not mean, however, that we have been unwilling to heed, humbly, its forceful and pointed criticism of certain sluggish trends in the Socialist Party. In fact, we believe that on the whole those criticisms have already had a salutary influence; but we are not yet persuaded that any party for labor other than the Socialist Party should be undertaken or can be effective. At any rate, the C. P. L. A. has been rendering valiant service in its union crusade, and, convinced that there is room in the labor movement for more than a single approach, we wish the best of luck to *Labor Action*. We hope it will prove as useful as it deserves in promoting the growth of realism and militancy in the ranks of the workers.

Will the Opera Go?

Whether one agrees with the opera enthusiast or not that the opera is a high or even a genuine art form, its cultural potentialities are hardly debatable. In a certain sense, however, it has been like polo and fox-hunting, a diversion of the rich. For if it has attracted to its performances thousands of impecunious students and workers, it has drawn its sustenance almost entirely from endowments or subscriptions. We are speaking as orthodox New Yorkers, of course, for the moment, and referring to *the* Opera. But only to draw a contrast between the Metropolitan Opera and the opera of the despised hinterland, which, so far as its basis is concerned, is often sounder and more wholesomely a venture of community spirit—even, in one or two municipalities, a matter of city subsidy.

There is food for thought about the cultural contributions of capitalism when so splendid an organization—splendid in the literal sense as well as the colloquial—as the Metropolitan Opera Association is seriously obliged to consider total discontinuance next season. This season will be rounded out according to schedule, so it is reported; but as to the future, nothing remains but dark uncertainty. The current season will doubtless pile up a deficit of $350,000. Subscriptions totalling over a half-million dollars made for this year are altogether too often uncollectable. Radio broad-

casts have netted about $120,000, but that and other, smaller, subsidiary items of income are far from adequate. Unless help of extraordinarily gigantic proportions is speedily available, the Metropolitan Opera will be closed next year.

Philip Snowden, when confronted as Chancellor of the Exchequer with a similar situation at Covent Garden, incurred the satire, even the abuse, of many people when he put through a government subsidy. The friends of the unemployed, naturally and not unjustifiably, raised a howl. A Liberal wag descanted on the spectacle of a Labor guardian of the public moneys daring to take such a step, and hurled a deadly paraphrase: *non opus sed opera.* But somehow we cannot class this offense, if offense it was, along with the others properly chargeable to Mr. Snowden's middle-class obsessions. What we should prefer to see, however, is a steady trend toward the permeation of community life with native music, drama, and opera, developing local talent, and creating reserves of cultural alertness. Equipped with such reserves of community artistic interest, our people could better afford, in cultural terms, than now they can the eclipse of such supreme technical excellence as can be found at the Metropolitan. But it may well be that this is just another cultural advance that must wait for the flowering of a new economic order upon the ashes of a decadent civilization.

"We the People"

It is not often that a play comes to Broadway which gives the devotee of the theatre so clear a picture of contemporary life and so sharp a criticism of the iniquities and injustices of the present social system as Elmer Rice's "We The People".

The play is a tragedy depicting the dismal facts of present-day life and the misery which results from unemployment, wage cuts, home evictions, police brutality and the cowardly use of guns by industrial concerns against their protesting unemployed workers. The tragedy is not carried through to its ultimate climax but closes rather with an appeal to "we the people" to restore ancient and honored American rights. If one were inclined to make any criticism of this excellent play it would be that the ending sacrifices drama for propaganda a little too obviously and destroys the sense of the tragic by a political exhortation which does not add power to the play.

Elmer Rice is a master in giving the outlines of a total social situation. Just as his "Street Scene" gave the hearer full insight into the lower middle-class life of New York, his new play surveys the entire American scene; and there is hardly a detail in the various factors and forces which enter into the present situation which is left out. Competent and careful craftsmanship was required to make a whole of these component parts, artfully presented in twenty different scenes. Every social group of American life is depicted in the play: the immigrant worker; the middle-class foreman with immigrant background, trying desperately to hold on to his middle-class conceptions of honesty and loyalty; the impoverished farmer; the victim of the World War; the young couple prevented by poverty from satisfying a wholesome craving for love and family life and driven into clandestine arrangements; the Negro worker combining the racial gift of humor with his radicalism; the financial and industrial overlords living in luxury, indulging the caprices of spoilt children and buying art treasuries in Europe while their workers are starving; the college president, a little more liberal than his financial friends and relatives but not liberal enough to grant freedom on his campus; the radical Jewish professor dismissed for his political convictions and the equally radical academic of American stock who refuses the advantage of family and race which the college tries to force upon him when his convictions are called into question with those of his Semitic colleague; and finally the mealy-mouthed senator who tries to be all things to all men. Though these characters are all types, they do not lack personal uniqueness. Together they present a total picture of the American scene which is strikingly penetrating and complete. It might be added that a parson finds a place in the drama, and he is neither a fool nor a tool of reaction; he is an honest fellow without radicalism but driven by religiously oriented common sense to ally himself with the radicals. Perhaps that character together with the radical professors in the play does justice to the fact that both the church and the university are actually supporting non-conformist economic and social thought through a small but sincere minority.

The play echoes current American history besides portraying various types in our contemporary situation. The Mooney case and the Sacco-Vanzetti trial are hinted at; the scene in which the college president is drafted by the bankers to run for the Presidency suggests memories of Colonel Harvey and Woodrow Wilson; the student revolt against compulsory military training is included, and the bonus march on Washington comes into the picture. One might even guess that Eliot White's radical church activities suggested Rice's parson.

It is to be hoped that every organization which is interested in arousing the American public to the seriousness of our economic and social problems will give this play genuine support. It deserves to have a long run on Broadway.

A Correction

In an editorial appearing on page 126 of our issue of February 8th we gave the number of individual income tax returns filed in 1931 as 3,707,509 and the number which were taxable as 2,037,645. These were actually the figures for 1930. In 1931, 3,116,317 returns were filed, of which 1,455,007 were taxable.

Two Kinds of Coercion

GEORGE A. COE

THE social idealism that renounces war but at the same time demands a revolution in our economic order is under considerable inner stress these days. That economic privilege will stop short of the use of utmost force in defense of itself is increasingly difficult of belief. The corollary of which is that the hands of privilege must be wrenched loose from its weapons. Consequently many idealists feel themselves ethically impelled towards a use of force from which they ethically shrink. *Ethically* impelled. When Reinhold Niebuhr painfuly admits the necessity of fighting, he does not yield to non-Christian motives; he endeavors to apply them within what he thinks—though he may be mistaken—are inescapable limiting conditions. Thus conscience seems to say yes and no in the same breath with regard to the same thing. Would it not be well to ask, then, whether or not it is precisely the same thing towards which we are impelled and from which we are repelled?

The nearest approach thus far made to a resolution of this antinomy appears to be the principle of "non-violent coercion". This means approval of the use of force by the state under the forms of law, as well as many other kinds of legally permissible compulsion, such as economic pressure, but condemnation of all coercion that is forbidden by law. Here the key concepts are violence and positive law. Both require scrutiny. The distinction between violent and non-violent acts, as illustrated in my article published in THE WORLD TOMORROW, October 19, 1932, yields no clear ethical guidance since the same effects upon human beings, killing not excepted, can be produced by either sort of act, and, secondly, no objective line of demarcation between the two kinds of act has been found or can be. Hence the distinction turns out to be an arbitrary one. Ethical judgment upon conduct must attach itself, therefore, not to the mechanical or bodily changes that it works, but to changes in personal selves and in their attitudes towards one another. So much, in brief, for violence. The other aspect, that of non-violent coercion—abstinence from illegal compulsion—will occupy the remainder of this article.

The doctrine that illegal acts are *ipso facto* ethically wrong should sound strange in the ears of any disciple of one who declared that laws are made for man, not man for laws. It does sound strange to those of us who grew up in communities in which disobedience to the Fugitive Slave Law was a mark of courageous goodness. Whether the "underground railway," whereby runaway slaves were helped in escaping to Canada, ever indulged in what is popularly called violence I cannot say, but surely the virtuous participants in this wholly illegal conspiracy would have been glad enough to restrain, trip, or disarm any officer of the law who was pursuing an escaping Negro. The simple fact is that there is a long tradition that the highest virtue may require not only passive resistance to a law, but also active and even concerted disobedience.

THE "Thou shalt nots" of positive law, considered either historically or ethically, are in fact never primary and self-grounded, but secondary, derived and instrumental. Law comes into being in the first instance, of course, by procedures that have no antecedent legality. It arises by fiat out of interests and desires that seem to require organized use of force, or readiness to use it, to give them effect. The interest or need is primary, the law is secondary. Statutes have been created, amended, allowed to become "dead letters" or thrown upon the rubbish heap according to the feel of circumstances. The ethical imperative, consequently, never resides in the statute itself nor in the governmental system of which it is a part, but solely in the reasons why the statute or the system is good, and to the extent only that it is good.

The political state, it must be remembered, does not create and sustain society. Society creates and maintains the state. Society is primordial; it exists within and by virtue of a spontaneous experience of unity among men—a unity that requires mutual help and self-evidencing justice. The urge towards mutuality and justice is as different from its instrument, the statute or the constitution, as a grocer's purpose in keeping a profit-and-loss account is different from the act of selling butter and eggs.

The state is ours; we are not the state's. The relation to government that this implies we cannot ethically abdicate. What, then, of the much-lauded "respect for law"? This phrase, as it usually is employed, contains a catch—inadvertently, of course. If I am willing to accept for myself any condition or restraint that may be necessary in order that mutual help and justice may prevail, I am fundamentally respectful of law; I am positively for making laws and obeying them. But to be submissive towards a particular law or process of legislation is not the same thing at all; it may even be inconsistent with basic respect for law. The idea of the sacredness of constitutional, statutory, or judicial formulas is an ethical monstrosity. Nothing in the

world is sacred but persons and the primal bond that, statute or no statute, makes us members one of another.

Our main question simmers down to this: What sort of forcible coercion, if any at all, does, as a matter of fact, develop personality and organize persons into a just, coöperative whole?

HISTORY offers the beginning of an answer in the partial separation of military operations from police functions. Here is, first of all, division of labor. The police power in the widest sense is simply authority to regulate the internal organization of the state; the military arm has to deal with external relations. But this is not the whole of the difference. Though force is employed by both, and though the state as a whole may be said, in a sense, to rest upon elemental might, there is a sharp contrast between police coercion and military coercion. Armies and navies apply sheer force and nothing else; police coercion applies force, but also law, and these two are not applied in alternation but at one and the same point. Now, this latter application of coercion lays restraints upon the coercer as well as the coerced. Here power checks itself, confessing that some things cannot be done by sheer force. When a sheriff and his prisoner, the strong and the weak, appear before a court, they appear as equals under the law; they are and remain members of each other. War, on the other hand, totally excommunicates the alleged offender; he has no standing in the case at all; the social bond is assumed to be utterly dissolved.

Bearing in mind that a statute or a method of administering it may defeat the true end of law—that is, mutual help and self-evidencing justice—we cannot escape the conclusion that the subjects of formal law must on ethical grounds be the final judges of all formal legal procedures. Many years ago, when Carrie Nation was being shamelessly harried in a Kansas court, a prominent clergyman arose and denounced the judge to his very face. A fine for contempt of court was imposed, but the clergyman continued his castigation. Another fine, until at last the judge must either sentence the clergyman to jail or helplessly listen to him. The judge did not dare to impose the extreme penalty; he listened! The result was that when the clerical apostle of the love that is also justice had finished his deliberately illegal conduct, law in the basic sense of this term had been vindicated and partly re-established in that community.

SIMILARLY, considerations of basic justice may call for resistance to a law in order that it may be amended or revoked. Everybody who understands the debt situation of American farmers knows that to enforce the present laws, which (largely because of a change in the value of the dollar) require many a debtor to pay double the value of what he borrowed, would be profoundly unjust. It would do much to disrupt the relations among men that government is intended to foster. Is it justifiable, then, when a foreclosure sale is attempted, for the farmers to assemble and by force of numbers prevent it, for instance, by hustling away a would-be bidder? Who can say no? And who can doubt that if farmers would generally pursue this policy the result would be better government, not worse?

The other day proponents of farm relief told our lawmakers at Washington that the alternative to effective relief would be revolution. Now, inasmuch as putting one in fear is already the use of violence, this threat of revolution cannot be ethically separated from the act itself. In other words, we of the United States are now already within the process of forcible revolution. In this case forcible revolution does not deny but affirms and seeks to enforce principles that are fundamental to peaceful government as contrasted with war. Here is what is called violent coercion, but it is the diametrical opposite of war.

IT is possible, then, to reject militarism altogether and yet support some sorts of forcible revolution. There is difficulty in this "some", of course. For example, our struggle towards a classless society has to take the form of class conflict; we must be against the privileged class and for the unprivileged—this even when the exploiters are partly right and the exploited partly wrong. In this situation some men of would-be good will, endeavoring to keep themselves free from partisan contaminations, will achieve only the contemptible virtue of the sympathetic spectator; other men of would-be good will, drinking of the bitterness of the disinherited, will seek an antidote in militarism. It will not be easy, in the midst of conflict, to stand for the truth that already we are members one of another and that social unity is of the essence of the personal life here and now. It will not be easy to treat our opponents as persons, not as beasts. But our implacability must be that of the good will. The final value that we ascribe to ourselves we must ascribe also to the opponent whom we intend to thwart at any necessary cost. We must give him every opportunity to come voluntarily out of the prison-house that special privilege has built about his soul; when we have him in our power we must subject him to the most healing discipline that patient respect for his possibilities can devise. If he prefers death to surrender of the special privileges that already are un-manning him, it should be made unmistakably clear that this fate is not forced upon him but chosen by him.

What has now been offered is not fine-spun speculation, it is a practical guide. Here is a case: When American Communists say that they are engaged in class war, some of them use the term "war" literally, others figuratively, with resulting differences in conduct. Those who regard themselves as literally at war

assume that I, of bourgeois origin, am an enemy upon whom it is proper to inflict any harm that armies are capable of inflicting. If, when they are arrested, I provide a bond in order that they may have fair treatment under our laws, they "jump" the bond. Two men who have given their lives to the cause of economic justice, suffering for the proletariat as such men must suffer, have said to me, "If the Communists came into power, they would liquidate me." But Communists who use "class-war" in a figurative sense do not treat me as an enemy; they are as trustworthy as steel, and if they undertook to coerce me, I am sure that they would mix force with respect and regret. I, for my part, refuse to play the role of enemy. Even the bloodiest of the Communists are neighbors of mine, who are seeking, as I am, to establish mutuality and self-evidencing justice in the world. No matter what they plan to do to me, I decline, absolutely decline, to make war upon them. Just so, though I would do anything that may be necessary to stop exploitation of man by man, I decline to make war upon the exploiter.

Optimism and Utopianism

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

ACCEDING to the request of my fellow-editors, I have agreed to make a rejoinder to some of the reviews of my book, *Moral Man and Immoral Society,* not because I am anxious to have the last word, but because I hope that the issues which the book has raised are important enough to warrant further discussion and because it seems worthwhile to clear up some definite misunderstandings. (This word of apology is probably a perfect illustration of one thesis in my book; that we are all inveterate hypocrites seeking moral reasons to justify egoistic ends.)

Norman Thomas's review in THE WORLD TOMORROW suggested that I had deflated sentimental pacifism but that there are not very many sentimental pacifists in the world, and that I had not dwelt sufficiently upon the horrors of revolutionary action in a technological age. It seems to me that subsequent reviews have rather justified me in believing that the entire middle-class world, whether avowedly pacifistic or not, is confused about the relation of coercion to moral idealism. Almost all of the moralists have been shocked by my insistance that coercion is an inevitability in man's collective life. Yet every page of history is a proof of the assertion, and the only hope of escape from it in the future lies in an extension of human imagination and a check upon human egoism which would amount to the generation of a human nature quite different from anything now known.

Failure to recognize the coercive character of economic and political life, when coercion expresses itself in covert forms, is the very root of the moral confusion from which our dominant social classes suffer. They profit from the possession of power but imagine themselves to be enjoying the rewards of virtue, and they insist on placing a moral odium upon every class which resists their selfish use of power. Consciously or unconsciously they are really aware of the fact that their special privileges will not be abrogated by voluntary sacrifice of them. That is why they never seriously resent the criticisms of their moral teachers who tell them to be more unselfish and advise the victims of their injustice to be patient until their masters have learned unselfishness. They know very well that such moral idealism leads to acquiescence among their victims and to the perpetuation of their power. They do not mind criticism as long as their power is not threatened. They therefore resent only the kind of radicalism which arouses the victims of economic injustice to actual resistance. I do not maintain that they are necessarily taking these attitudes in conscious hypocrisy or that their sentimental moral teachers, who criticise them without devising political methods for resisting their injustice, are consciously playing into their hands. I merely believe that men who hold social power are morally confused and that the liberal tradition in school and church adds to this confusion.

IT is very interesting to me that none of my critics has actually controverted my arguments on this question. They have merely been shocked. John Haynes Holmes, for instance, seems to accept my interpretation of Gandhi's method as involving the use of force, even though he has for years interpreted Gandhi as the exponent of non-resistance rather than as a protagonist of non-violent resistance. He does not attempt to disprove my interpretation of Gandhi but contents himself with the observation that "power in any form is an ultimate appeal to sheer brute strength" and that " the moralist will shrink" from my advocacy of it and will regard it as the "nadir of defeatism". I am a "moralist who surrenders right to expediency". This attitude seems to me to close one's eyes to the actual facts of human society in a way which borders almost on conscious self-deception. Will Dr. Holmes accuse his hero, Gandhi, of having sacrificed right to expediency?

To speak of sacrificing right to expediency and to stand in horror of the idea that the end justifies the

means always betrays the individual moralist who cannot find his way to an adequate social ethic. He has some absolute "rights". What are they? It is on the whole wrong to inflict pain. The surgeon inflicts pain to cure a patient. Would Dr. Holmes say that the surgeon has sacrificed right to expediency? Is not the whole of life a constant choice between lesser and higher values? There are no means and no ends in an absolute sense. There are merely competing values. Social justice is such a value. If history proves that injustice cannot be overcome without resisting it, one is called upon to resist it even though from another and more individual perspective self-assertion may seem to be immoral.

I devoted two chapters of my book to analysing the errors into which a too consistent political realism would fall if it failed to deal with the dangers of social conflict arising out of assertion and counter-assertion. I suggested that for this reason no society could ever be satisfied with mere social control upon unsocial conduct but would seek to establish a moral and inner control upon egoism. None of my critics have referred to these chapters. They have been too shocked by my deflation of liberal social idealism to pay attention or do justice to them.

NEXT to reactions on my analysis of the relation of coercion to moral suasion most of my critics have been outspoken chiefly in their censure of what they have called my defeatism. In some cases they meant by this merely that I did not have confidence in the possibility of establishing a new society by purely voluntary ethical action or that I did not believe that the parliamentary method is an unfailing method of achieving social change. The farmers of the West who have taken the law into their own hands to stop foreclosures on their farms could, incidentally, add an interesting chapter to my book on the breakdown of purely political methods of social resistance. More frequently, however, my critics were outraged by my insistence that no perfect society is possible under any system because the force of human egoism and the limits of the human imagination will make the struggle against the abuse of power a perpetual one and will confront every society with the treble problem of decentralizing power as much as possible, of bringing power under social control and of establishing inner moral checks upon it.

The fact that this conclusion, which nine out of ten Europeans would accept without question, should be regarded in America as particularly pessimistic proves how completely we are still involved in the utopianism of the past two centuries, and how easily the radical merely substitutes a Marxian for a liberal utopianism. Dr. Holmes thinks that I am an educator who thinks that education must fail and a religionist who believes that religion must fail. Of course I believe nothing of the kind. I believe only that every force of reason and intelligence will fail to create that anarchistic millenium which is the implied hope of all liberals. A socialistic commonwealth will be much more just and sufferable than our capitalistic one. But it is foolish to assume that it will completely socialize human beings and create the perfect society.

At the basis of all this utopianism is a romantic conception of human nature and its perfectability. Norman Thomas tries to place his hopes on a different basis by suggesting that an era of plenty will not prompt to such sharp antagonisms as an era of scarcity. I can find no basis for such a hope at all. If the assurance of plenty for everyone could persuade each one to cease trying to take advantage of his neighbor, we ought to have had some evidences of that tendency even in a capitalistic period.

HOW completely my reaction to utopianism is misunderstood can be seen by the number of critics who suggest that it is a mark of irreligion. As a matter of fact, it grows out of my religious convictions. As a Marxian I have no illusions about the collective behavior of man in capitalistic civilization. I believe that interest determines his conduct to a larger degree than contemporary liberal idealism is willing to admit. As a Christian I go a step beyond Marxism and have no illusions about the collective behavior of mankind in general in any age or under any social system. That very insight is derived from the religion which looks at history from the perspective of the absolute and does not imagine that the absolute will be established in history. These hopes and illusions that the absolute (absolute justice for instance) will be established in time are derived from a confusion of the absolute and the historical. This confusion is the mark of the intellectual immaturity of our whole liberal culture; and to a certain degree Marxism has inherited it from liberalism. Among liberals it leads to soft illusions and among Russian Communists it tempts to the absolutizing of the present Russian state.

Unfortunately it is difficult to achieve the highest social energy without the illusion that this energy will accomplish more than the facts warrant. That is why I closed my book with the suggestion that it would be well if some of these illusions are not destroyed until they have helped our age to build a new society. That suggestion was probably the greatest mistake in my book. It is true that illusions are serviceable but it is also true that they are dangerous. It would have been better to close on a warning against their danger. If our age were intellectually fully mature it would realize that capitalism has become impossible without giving itself to the illusion that socialism will build a paradise. Such maturity is therefore not a peril. It is a necessity, for which illusions are poor though probably inevitable substitutes.

The Cause and Cure of Peace

ROSIKA SCHWIMMER

IN the winter of 1923, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt told me, as a joke, that she had just received from a national women's organization an appeal to organize the American women for peace action, because they had "resolved" that she was "the God-chosen leader for that task." She did not feel like accepting the challenge. The women, however, must have insisted, for a few months later representatives of nine national women's organizations met at Mrs. Catt's invitation to consider whether they could coöperate in an effort to establish peace.

Only organizations were considered which had not been guilty of pacifism, but which had, nevertheless, shaken off enough of their war-time and post-war mood to feel at last the stir of a new era. The representatives of the nine national bodies agreed on the necessity of concerted action but, having varied objectives, religious beliefs, and methods of work, they could agree only on two things: "(1) to work to get the United States to join the World Court; and (2) to hold a conference." This was in the spring of 1924. The folder sent out with the invitation to the eighth National Conference, just held in Washington, says proudly: "They have been doing both ever since!"

This statement gives in a nutshell the exasperating history of the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War. The Committee seemed to be satisfied to hold a yearly conference and to urge the country to join the World Court, both features to be left as a heritage to future generations.

But the eighth National Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, held in Washington, January 17-20, representing eleven organizations, showed marked impatience with the ineffective reiteration of the World Court demand and the futility of their conferences. The necessity of uniting all peace forces, "including even pacifist" organizations, was timidly voiced. Yet this little concession means progress. When the first conference was called for January, 1925, Jane Addams was told that her Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, being an out-and-out pacifist organization, could not join. "The lunatic fringe of the peace movement could not be kept away" from the new body if peace organizations were admitted, she was told. But Miss Addams might attend the first conference as a delegate of one of the participating organizations, perhaps the American Association of University Women. A place on the platform would be assured her. But Miss Addams did not choose to be a mute in a Hamlet performance without Hamlet, and the peace movement of American women without pacifists started out on its lunatic-fringeless career.

Before the World War peace organizations were divided into many studying and a few acting organizations. At the first martial note the former fell unhesitatingly into line, most of the others dropped action, and only very, very few remained sane, active pacifists.

WHEN the first winter of world massacre had agonized the active pacifists into passionate desire to stop the carnage, an international women's conference was planned. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt was invited to coöperate in the planning and to preside over the conference to be held in Amsterdam. At that time I was lecturing in America in favor of the stop-the-war movement, and my European colleagues cabled me to secure Mrs. Catt's consent. But she would not hear of the scheme. It was of no use to remind her that as the international woman suffrage leader she had always appeared an ardent pacifist and that her refusal would be an unbearable disappointment to her followers all over the world.

"I would lay down my life," said Mrs. Catt to me, "if I thought that would help to stop the war, but I won't risk my life on mine-infested seas for a tempest in a teapot—and that's what the Amsterdam Conference is going to amount to."

"Come to Europe and help to make it more than that," I pleaded, but in vain. Mrs. Catt dropped the world leadership of women, and Jane Addams, the organizers' second choice, more sensitive to the desperate need for peace efforts, accepted the chairmanship of the 1915 Hague Conference and so became the leader of the group of pacifist women later organized into the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Mrs. Catt remained one of the leaders in the American peace movement, but she too stepped deliberately out of it at the moment of America's entrance into the war, when she reversed herself on everything she had claimed in her long and brilliant suffrage career as the contribution to be expected from women in world affairs. But while other American women leaders who had lost their heads when America entered the war, like Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, have publicly confessed: *mea culpa, mea culpa, mea maxima culpa,* Mrs. Catt did not seem to feel apologetic for her desertion of the highest ideals towards which she had so effectively led hosts of women all over the world.

It was a happy event when American women's organizations forced Mrs. Catt back into the rôle for which she is more fit than any other woman of her generation. It is most discouraging, however, to have it turn out that Mrs. Catt was not to be a leader, but was to be led instead by women who wanted the nonsense of a peace movement without pacifism or pacifists. Her forceful personality, her organizing genius and personal charm, the utter selflessness of her service have for the last eight or nine years been devoted to this limited national work—a most deplorable waste in our time, when there is so great a need of international leadership and such a shortage of leaders.

SINCE the first National Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, which set up a "continuing committee," every conference has been devoted to talks by experts, who have often been below the standard of the majority of intelligent and informed delegates. There has been slight variation in the plans of the eight national conferences. The delegates always listened like obedient school children to addresses by experts talking down to the "uninformed women". After every address 15 minutes is allowed for questions and no time whatever for discussion. The speeches are mostly bookish, full of statistics and data that cannot possibly be digested in one hearing. Very few of the speakers add force of personality to the presentation of their topics; many of them are vague or evasive in answering questions, leaving bewildered questioners entirely confused. While the programs of the first conferences touched on innumerable questions concerning the cause and cure of war, those of recent years have concentrated more on single topics. The 1928 conference, for example, was chiefly devoted to the outlawing of war; another to the World Court.

The first signs of emergence from the epoch of mere self-education and sterile absorption of information, into the atmosphere of reality were recognizable in the program adopted by the 1931 conference. It included, besides continued work for that hardy perennial, the World Court, petition work for the 1932 World Disarmament Conference, and—very, very cautiously—"consideration" of the League of Nations, a Consultative Pact, Compulsory Military Training, and Economic Problems. This, however, is still a far cry from action toward curing the world of the war disease. The patient is beset with a variety of ills, and is growing every day sicker and more delirious with high fever. It is tantalizing to find one-fifth of the adult women of the United States merely watching him, analyzing his symptoms and diagnosing the disease but still refraining from curative action.

THE most promising feature of the 1933 conference was laudable self-analysis and open criticism of the organization's ineffectiveness, together with suggestions for the cure of its own shortcomings. Only one hour of the last afternoon was given for the display of these findings, but this was the most constructive hour in the history of the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War. Mrs. James Morrison concisely summed up the findings as follows:

> The representatives sent by the Marathon Round Tables held in the several states to report findings to the National Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, while differing in the emphasis placed by them on certain details, were in substantial agreement on the following points:
>
> That they wished the Marathan Round Tables continued and extended. (These are the Committee's specially designed discussion groups, passing their findings from local units to State Round Tables, reaching then the National Conference.)
>
> The need of more unified work if the movement is to succeed.
>
> That our aims and methods were confused and there was a waste of the effectiveness of the workers.
>
> To distinguish between aims and methods and between minimum aims for immediate work and additional aims for study and consideration.
>
> That there is a need for more effective political pressure on the Government.
>
> That we must adequately finance our work.
>
> That we must improve our methods of study and education, learn to make better use of publicity and the radio.
>
> That we must try for the improvement of educational methods in schools and colleges, where leaders are trained; for better mass education to reach the adults of today; and for wider contacts generally. As to reaching our youth the problem seems to be, in part, at least, that of keeping up with them.
>
> No specific statement was made as to the importance of joint work for peace in the local communities by the various organizations in the Conference, but it was implied in most of the findings.

THE patronizing attitude of experts attempting to dash independent logical arguments of mere delegates can be traced through all the conferences. In the first one, for example, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, a delegate of the Federation of Women's Clubs, stood up against Mr. Wickersham's recognition of righteous wars; Mrs. Roosevelt said: "I do not quite see why there should be any such thing as a righteous war. Therefore it seems to me that, granting that we had a law, and that a nation broke that law, granting that a weaker nation was wrongfully attacked, why could there not be some form of legal redress under the League of Nations or Court, and why can it not be treated eventually in some way, in just the way that we treat murder or any other crime?" And Mr. Wickersham, sure of his intellectual superiority and persuasive power, answered: "I am not like Mrs. Roosevelt, and I think if I had an opportunity to confer with her a little she would not be so absolute in her statement that she regarded no war as a righteous war. . . . When we intervened in Cuba to end centuries

of misrule by a European power over the inhabitants of that island, and thus end what had become an international scandal, I think we engaged in a righteous war."

A veritable hiss rippled through the hall when at the present conference James G. McDonald calmly asserted that "the world will have to undergo another tragedy, much more terrible than the World War, to learn its lesson." "Why are we then wasting time, money and energy in doing anything?" exclaimed a shocked delegate near the press table, who was immediately hushed by the chairman of the session. Mr. McDonald also disagreed with hundreds of delegates who insisted that the maneuvers in Manchuria were a full-fledged war with all its horrible implications. Mr. McDonald tried in vain to persuade them that owing to the omission of a formal declaration of war the matter was really not so bad as it would be if the etiquette of war had been strictly observed.

THE next fixed star in the firmament of the Conference, Professor James T. Shotwell—he has addressed nearly all the eight National Conferences—had a different preliminary condition for disarmament: "It will only come in proportion as nations gain confidence in the structure and instruments of international peace." (I wonder whether the United States of America would exist if its founders had waited to build on the basis of general confidence in the proposed new structure.) And in perfect agreement with all the militarists, Professor Shotwell added: "If arms are really needed, then we need the best there are." In another speech he pleaded the cause of the militarist even more emphatically. He said: "For a government to deny itself armaments if it is really going to need them is an almost incredible betrayal of its responsibility, because it would mean sending its citizens to the battlefield to be slaughtered by the superior might of its enemy." Professor Shotwell urged the creation of a general staff to plan the strategy of peace. He complained of having been for more than a decade the only one to urge this. The pacifists did not support him because he had insisted that such a general staff must include soldiers with real military knowledge. "Have the soldiers ever insisted on having pacifists on their general staff?" exploded our indomitable neighbor.

Miss Mary Woolley's report about the achievements of the Disarmament Conference—she insisted there were achievements—was eagerly awaited; but it was disappointing when Miss Woolley dropped into the technical phraseology of the Geneva lingo. She reeled off technicalities in arms and ammunitions, their relative value for attack and defense, as if she were addressing the Disarmament Conference itself. The delegates listened in respectful silence until she spoke of "the effectives".

"What did she say?" asked our unruly neighbor, nudging a fellow delegate, who shrugged her shoulders. "The effectives" appeared several times in Miss Woolley's speech before it was found out that the word is the Disarmament Conference's term for soldiers. If you talk of men you see cannon fodder, but talking of effectives keeps your blood pressure even.

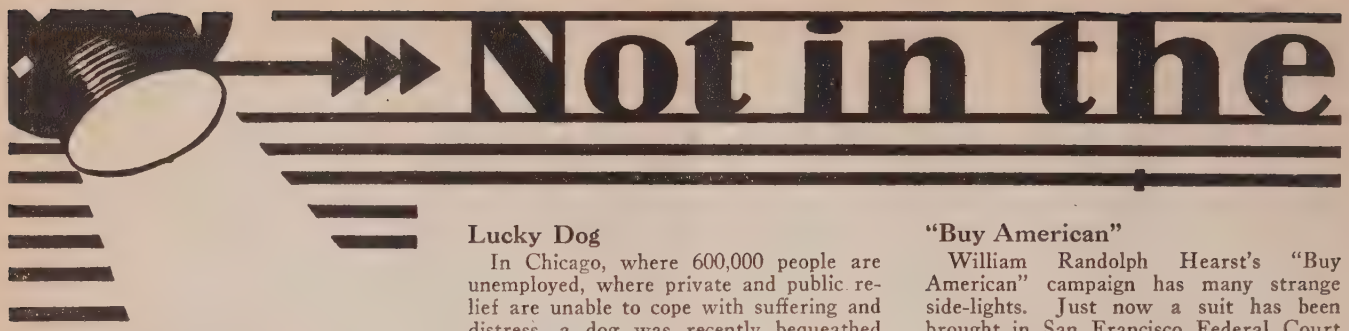
Miss Woolley urged the assembled delegates to concentrate their efforts on the "four I's: information, interest, influence and impact." She urged particularly that they make an impact on Congress. Impact became the most quoted word of the Conference, testifying to the eager response given to practical suggestions for activity.

Mr. Nathaniel Peffer provoked excited and unquenchable opposition with his demand that the United States of America withdraw the Stimson formula of non-recognition of military conquest. While his authority on Far Eastern questions was fully recognized, his conclusions were unmistakably opposed.

DELEGATES had no outlet for their resentment against defeatism; but the lounges and dining rooms buzzed with angry reaction. Dr. William Allan Neilson brought relief to the pent-up emotions of the rebelling delegates. His speech on the chances for peace in the world today voiced his own views as well as those of most of the delegates. The applause following every point with which he forcefully and humorously refuted some of the other speakers' generally-resented assertions proved that President Neilson was representing the advanced spirit of the Conference.

Mrs. Israel Zangwill spoke for total disarmament now, and Mrs. Catt contributed another feature to her many-sided services for the Committee on the Cause and Cure of War. She had written a playlet, "Mars Takes a Sabbatical," which will be good dramatic material for amateur performances under the aegis of the Committee. Most of the speakers disregarded the general topic, "War and Waste," to which the Conference was dedicated. It remained for Mrs. Catt to justify the title. Her little play consists of cleverly dramatized statistics illustrating the waste of war.

But as for waste, it is clear that it would be an unpardonable waste of potential peace forces if the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War continued to limit itself to mere study. Asia ablaze, South American running blood, Eastern Europe ready to explode any minute, dictatorships harassing people beyond endurance, world unemployment pushed by blind die-hards into revolution—we know enough! The time for study has passed. "Deeds, not words!"—that good old slogan with which Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt led her international hosts to suffrage victory—must be revived.



U. S. Steel Tonnage Drops to Record Low

Unfilled orders of the United States Steel Corporation decreased 69,496 tons in January, to 1,898,644, the lowest figure since records of orders were begun in 1910. Because of the increase in steel-making activities in January, it had been assumed that new business was supporting the higher producing rate. The decrease was caused by a gain in production, which was not offset by a sufficiently large gain in bookings.

Invitation to Violence

Woolworth's five and ten cent stores have their British counterparts in the threepence and sixpence shops. The British *New Leader,* in its issue of January 27, reports that Woolworth's in England has just declared a dividend of 70 per cent! The event was celebrated by "the most expensive dinner in the last five years," given to the twenty highest officials of the firm. The dinner cost £156, or about $38 per person at par rates of exchange. It was served in the most luxurious private room of the Hotel Dorchester, and London's finest orchestra played. "And across the road in Hyde Park," comments *The New Leader,* "hundreds of unemployed were huddled on seats, cold and hungry."

Tax Sales

In Virginia County, Washington, one-fifth of all the land was handed over to the state on January 9, at a delinquent tax sale. Only 14 out of 698 parcels were bid in for the taxes.

Fake "Socialists" in Japan

Enemies of the Socialist and labor movement who have been using the alleged transformation of a "Socialist" party in Japan to a fascist organization, in fighting the Socialist and labor parties of other countries, were answered by the Labor and Socialist International in a letter recently sent to secretaries of parties affiliated with the L. S. I. No Socialist organization in Japan has ever been recognized by the International, which has vigorously condemned attempts of Bunji Suzuki, now travelling in Europe as a representative of the Socialist Masses Party, to excuse the Japanese imperialist policy of conquest.

Lucky Dog

In Chicago, where 600,000 people are unemployed, where private and public relief are unable to cope with suffering and distress, a dog was recently bequeathed $20,000 by its fond owner in his last will.

Finnish Co-ops

The sales of the Finnish Coöperative Wholesale Society (S. O. K.) for the first ten months of 1932 amounted to Fmk. 712,900,368, which is an increase of Fmk. 4,932,139 as compared with the corresponding period of 1931. The sales of the productive enterprises of S. O. K. for the same period amounted to Fmk. 146,774,-239, which is Fmk. 53,582,689 more than in 1931.

American Education

The Federal Office of Education reports that 23 out of every 1,000 adult Americans are college graduates and that 125 out of every 1,000 are high school graduates. The chance of a boy or girl going to high school, which was only one in 25 in 1890, is now one in two. The chance of a boy or girl going to college, which was only one in 33 in 1900, is now one in six.

More Socialists Student Co-ops

Less than one full meal a day is the fare of at least 100 men and women students of Michigan State College, it was revealed recently by Professor L. C. Emmons, following the disclosures of similar conditions at the Unversity of Michigan, the Colleges of the City of Detroit, and the Unversity of Detroit. Returning from a conference with university officials at Ann Arbor, Professor Emmons praised the Socialist coöperative rooming houses and cafeterias there, and indicated that steps to organize coöperatives would be taken at East Lansing to cut student living expenses.

Jills of All Trades

That adaptability and versatility are rated the highest assets of the self-supporting woman today is the discovery of the largest single group of business and professional women in the United States. The American Woman's Association of New York City, with 4,000 members, has been assembling data indicating new means by which independent women keep themselves afloat these days. Through its General Service Department this Association has organized among its members 10 vocational groups to study the present situation as it affects different fields of employment. Experience is shared and concrete suggestions passed along.

"Buy American"

William Randolph Hearst's "Buy American" campaign has many strange side-lights. Just now a suit has been brought in San Francisco Federal Court to make proper appraisal of 24 alabaster and marble lamps imported from Italy by Hearst to adorn his estate at San Simeon. Millions of dollars worth of the equipment of the San Simeon estate was brought from Europe; 36 other lamps for Hearst recently entered the Los Angeles port.

Women in Public Office

A total of 131 women are now serving in 33 state legislatures. This is 15 fewer than in 1931 and 18 below the total for 1929. The political affiliation of the women is as follows: Democrats, 65; Republicans, 58; Socialists, 1; non-partisan, 3.

'Twixt Tank and Plane

General Sir Ian Hamilton, commander at the Dardanelles, in an address to war veterans in London on February 11, predicted that in another great war the process of mechanization would proceed so far that combatants would not see each other. "The victorious tanks and airplanes," he said, "will devour hostile infantry and artillery as half a dozen heavily armored knights devoured a thousand armed but unarmored peasants. Then they will begin to lap up the civilian population as a cat laps up cream." "Watch the disarmament conference," he warned the veterans, according to the New York *Times.* "If any nation—your own or any other—begins to haw and hum and make excuses to obviate inspection and control by the League of Nations for its civil aviation, then we are in for it."

Taxes and Public Utilities

Congressman Cannon, of the House Appropriations Committee, has brought in a report recommending the establishment of a municipal light and power plant in the District of Columbia to supply both the government and private consumers. Cannon's committee spent two years making the investigation. It declares that the municipal plant would lower the rate of taxation and mean a saving of $4,000,000 a year as compared with the present prices of the Potomac Electric Light and Power Company. Coincident with Cannon's report, Carl D. Thompson declared that 84 cities, towns and villages in the United States have been able to free themselves from the burden of local taxation by reason of the surplus earnings of their municipally-owned projects.

Headlines

"Beautiful Ohio"

So sweeping are the terms of Ohio's criminal syndicalism law that Newton D. Baker, who told a committee of the state legislature the law should not be repealed, can be arrested for violating it by his advocacy of war debt cancellation, Representative William R. Pringle declared.

Taxless Towns

There are now 84 towns in the United States which collect no local taxes on account of the profits of publicly owned utilities, the Public Ownership League of America reports.

Norway Reduces Arms

Facing stiff opposition on the part of militarists and arms dealers, the Norwegian government nevertheless has proposed that the budget be reduced by lopping off expenditures for armaments 12,000,000 crowns—a cut of about 25 per cent.

9,500,000 Denied Schooling

Commissioner W. John Cooper of the United States Office of Education has endorsed and circulated a report by Prof. Paul R. Mort and associates, of Teachers' College, New York, showing that the economic collapse has deprived 9,500,000 American children of essential schooling, and that the closing of schools for lack of funds is rapidly increasing. This survey was authorized by Congress in 1931. Its findings suggest that each state government undertake to finance public schooling throughout the state, thereby shifting the taxation burden from local to state sources of revenue. It declares that control of teaching and curriculum can still be local when funds are drawn from the state treasury and finds that the property tax is no longer adequate for maintenance of public education.

Roundabout to Freedom

It will require five separate bills, which have been introduced by Assemblyman Charles W. Dempster of Los Angeles, to amend deficiencies in the California law which keeps Mooney and Billings in prison because new evidence is not considered grounds for a new trial. The bills are backed by many labor and progressive organizations, including the State Federation of Labor. Whether they would be retroactive if passed, thus affording a legal opening for retrial of Mooney and Billings, would have to be decided by the Supreme Court. They would, however, prevent similar miscarriages of justice in the future. It was a similar provision in the Massachusetts law which sent Sacco and Vanzetti to their death.

"Poor" Insull

According to the *Greek National Daily Herald,* Samuel Insull, bankrupt utility magnate, arrived in Greece with a handbag which contained $10,000,000 in $1,000 notes. The money was discovered by the customs inspector.

Cuts and—Cuts

When bankers and business men called on Farmer-Labor Governor Olson of Minnesota to ask a 25 per cent cut in taxes, the Governor reminded them banks had not cut interest rates 25 per cent and that each county represented got more state funds than it paid.

Six to Twenty-four

Many farmers in Indiana, says *Cooperation* for January, and in other states too, are having their telephones taken out. "Why shouldn't they?" inquires this journal. "The rate of the Indiana Bell Telephone Company is $24 a year. You can forego a lot of talk for $24 these days. Meanwhile a small coöperative telephone company which has been running in that state for many years, we are told, has never charged over $6 per year and has averaged nearer $5. Three cheers for the greatness and efficiency of a nation-wide, monopolistic public utility!"

Technocracy Isn't All

Technocracy's findings show that we are in the next-to-the-last stage of capitalism, according to Prof. E. A. Ross, head of the sociology department at the University of Wisconsin. "Now for the first time I am wondering if the capitalist system is at the end of its rope," he said. "Capital at the outset of the depression was taking 44 per cent of the value created in industry. With industrialists taking advantage of the 12,000,000 unemployed to cut wages, we shall probably come out of this depression with capital getting about 60 per cent of the value produced. If this happens, it is a safe bet that we are in the next-to-the-last stage of capitalism."

The Threat of Peace

On Armistice Day, 1932, the Czech manufacturers of war materials held a meeting to combat the menace of peace. O. Husak, general manager of the Skoda works at Pilsen, presided. The armament makers were worried that the Disarmament Conference might harm their business and that the commercial treaty about to be arranged with Germany might exclude them from German re-armament. Hence they voted to "form a strong organization" especially "because of the discussions at the Disarmament Conference."

Poland's War Extravagance

According to a study made by the International Anti-militaristic Commission, Poland spends about one-third of her budget on war preparations. No fewer than 50 Russians were executed as spies in 1932.

Pension Bill in Michigan

Michigan may soon have an old age pension law. State Senator Ray Derham's bill proposing such a law was recommended by Governor Comstock in his message to the Legislature. Under the measure, county homes would be abolished, and, instead, every destitute person of 70 years or older would receive a monthly pension of $30, to be paid by a tax of $2 a head on every adult resident of the state.

Socializing Penn's Woods

Representative Lilith Wilson, Socialist, has introduced in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives a "Public Service Districts Bill," providing for a new type of municipality better suited for industrial activity. The bill is part of the attempt of the Socialist members of the Pennsylvania State Legislature to work out plans, in the form of actual legislation, such as would be needed if workers were in governmental power, faced with the problem of socializing industry. Under the bill, 20 per cent of the qualified voters within the proposed district's boundaries could by petition secure from the court of common pleas most nearly having jurisdiction over the district proposed, a hearing within 30 days on their request for the creation of a public service district. Upon the setting up of the district by the court, letters patent would be issued to the new organization. The qualified voters at the next election would choose a board of five directors to administer the powers of the district, for four-year terms, two and three directors being elected in alternate years. Armed with powers of taxation running up to three mills on each dollar of the various county assessments, and the right to issue bonds to cover cost of purchase or construction of particular works, the boards would be able to undertake to buy or build plants to supply goods or services. Boards could exercise powers of condemnation of property not in the district, to protect themselves against utilities serving the district but operating outside its boundaries. Powers specifically open to all such districts would be the production and supplying of water, heat, light, power, any and all kinds of foodstuffs, ice, electricity, clothing material, fuel of all kinds, street railway, taxi and bus service and dwellings.

Buchmanism and Social Vision

JOHN IRVING DANIEL

OF all the differences which divide Christendom into factious camps, none is more to be lamented than the rift between the exponents of social religion and those of personal religion. Authoritarian differences are unfortunate, but here at least there is daylight ahead. Dogma is crumbling. True, the disintegration is slow, but liberals need not wait for its culmination. In industry, on the mission field, and in providing young people everywhere with the challenge of purposeful living, emancipated Christians are furnishing leadership in those movements which are transforming the world.

Naturally the building process is not being carried on by one group of workers alone. Specialists are engaged upon various parts of the structure that is the Kingdom. Through prophetic eyes most of the workers have seen a picture of the finished glory, but the details of the various phases of the enterprise are not discernable. In fact, so vague is the vision as to detail, that each group of workers sees the path to completion largely in terms of intensified labor upon its own specialty, and is extremely impatient toward those fellow laborers engaged, with equal crusading fervor, upon other—perhaps momentarily unconnected—parts of the structure. Is the hoisting of stone for the outer walls more important in the building of a cathedral than the work done upon certain decorative portions of the chancel? While we may reserve judgment on this question, experience records that many stone hoisters do not. It is easy for them to feel, exposed to the elements while working, that the wood carver, engaged so much less strenuously in the protected interior, is escaping the rigors of manly labor. Yet the criticized craftsman, driven to desperation by the tediousness of his task, might far-and-away prefer the physical release experienced in juggling boulders.

Interior and exterior building operations may be imagined as corresponding roughly to the work of personal evangelism and social crusade in molding a more perfect society. Both are necessary, and yet the two groups of workers frequently so misinterpret one another as to exert their critical faculties against the activities of the other group more vigorously than against the outside conservatives who don't even believe we need a new cathedral.

Perhaps the most vigorous group now engaged in the ministry of personal evangelism in the Western world is the group composing the Buchman movement. Their tactics are not impeccable, to be sure, but they have shown some astonishing results. The argument that "We like our way of doing things better than your way of not doing them" is scarcely to be gainsaid in the realm of the personal approach.

A recent article by Halford E. Luccock in THE WORLD TOMORROW severely censoring the movement has been given wide publicity in the religious press. His attack is hailed by long avowed "anti-Buchmanites" with as great enthusiasm as was Columbia University's repudiation of Technocracy by the directors of General Motors. There are important observations contained in Dr. Luccock's criticism, but most of them are as inimical to the growth of the Kingdom as is any engaging half-truth dogmatically presented as whole.

It is chiefly in the role of socially-minded Christian that Dr. Luccock attacks the Buchmanites. Is not one entitled to reply who is both a member of the Socialist Party and an avowed disciple of the Oxford Groups? Moreover, in the latter role, may he not testify?

In 1930 I went out on my first speaking tour for the Socialist Party, stumping two up-state New York counties for Louis Waldman. Never in my life has there been so objectified the psychological experience of escape! Being at that time victimized by the popular distinction between the categories of personal and social religion, I allowed the rigor of my intensive spiritual self-discipline partly to lapse. Was I not building the Kingdom through organization work and speeches? But when the tour ended, as all tours must, I realized I had been "on a jag." Not that I wouldn't go stumping again. I do so at every opportunity, and consider the most trustworthy evidence of the degree of success of my Christian ministry to be the number of Socialist votes obtained, *but* I shall never again let the social emphasis run away with the wagon at the expense of the personal.

THIS is the temptation which besets Christian Socialists at every turn. The futility of attempting to effect a spiritual change in the lives of those millions who lack the bare necessities of life is obvious. No man is in the market for anything else who is suffering the pangs of actual hunger. On the other hand, must it not be acknowledged that where people do have necessities, those who have undergone a spiritual change (in an experimental rather than a dogmatic sense) offer far richer soil for the sowing of political socialism than a similar group who have never made any strenuous effort to objectify for themselves the implications of the Jesus Way of Life?

Resuming the vein of personal testimony, I may candidly say that whatever practical socialism my wife and I are living, whatever "at-onement" with our underprivileged fellows we have achieved (independently of economic determinism), has been the direct result of our Oxford Group-prescribed morning Quiet Times. Before we were converted under the auspices of the Fellowship, our socialism was economic theory alone. Like so many of our fellow party members, enjoying various degrees of privilege, we were agitating for social reform, while making no pretense at living under anything but the present social dispensation.

Dr. Luccock intimates that many Buchmanites have not changed their living standard; indeed, that their ministry to the up-and-outs has provided a pious excuse to sanctify their continuance in the lap of luxury. I believe he is wrong. I affirm that there is no one to whom Jesus has been made more real within the atmosphere of a First Century Christian Fellowship who has not changed his standard of living appreciably as a result. True, some are not as aware of the extent of social injustice, entailing a conviction of their own consequent responsibility, as are others, but the problem of socialization is very much simplified. The Surrender serves as a blank check which subsequent enlightenment, in respect to its social implications, fills out.

AMONG the unconverted, advanced social theory, entailing a moral obligation to strive to achieve a measure of "at-onement" with the under-privileged, spreads more slowly. Why should the man who has never accepted the premise "Whosoever would seek to save his life shall lose it" be greatly moved by paganism in industry? Some are moved, to be sure, but the philosophical basis for their indignation becomes far more sound when they have definitely become exponents of practical Christianity.

In his article Dr. Luccock accuses the members of the Fellowship of too little humility. Is not whatever prompts this criticism an accompaniment—and a *necessary* accompaniment—of all vital religion? Critics are constantly registering against religion the indictment of either too much pride or too abject self-depreciation. In the opinion of Reinhold Niebuhr * these critics fail to understand an important paradox of the religious life! "Religion is at one and the same time humility before the absolute and self-assertion in terms of the absolute." Again, Professor Hocking, in his *Human Nature and its Remaking,* proclaims the very crux of Christianity to be "the element of presumption involved in reformation." How humble, one might ask, was Philip when, as recorded in Acts 8:29, the Spirit directed him to join himself with the Ethiopian in his chariot?

* *Moral Man and Immoral Society,* page 64.

It is perhaps true that "in their resentment of criticism some of the members rival Christian Scientists." But to what prophetic group, likewise, does this not generally apply? In fact, if one wanted to be mean, he could attribute hyper-sensitivity in the matter of cristism to *some* Socialists. Do we not, indeed, feel that we have "the news" in the matter of social diagnosis, and that those who cling to a belief in the social efficacy of the profit motive have "missed several trains"? Do we not bristle quite as indignantly upon hearing any aspersions cast upon the motives of Norman Thomas as the most admiring Fellowship member with respect to Frank N. D. Buchman?

DR. LUCCOCK should temper his critical faculties with more Christian charity. His keen mind should be at work in constructive contemplation, rather than in usurping the prerogative of men like Walter Lippmann and H. L. Mencken. Let the sophisticates take pot shots at everything which sticks up its head—from Technocrary to Methodism. They *may* have their peculiar function in the building of the Kingdom —although they would be among the last to acknowledge it.

But the socially-minded Christian—party member or liberal—is pledged to more constructive labor. When he's "off for lunch" from his hoisting job he doesn't join the crowd that is badgering the wood carver. In fact, if he concerns himself at all with "interior emphasis," it should be to see how much he can observe which may be of use to him. If sincerely, all prejudices aside, he sees nothing which might be of value to him in his own work, he may at least refrain from carrying out the journalistic precept: "If you can't praise, punch." Personal and social religion are two blades of the same sword. If we find ourselves able only to use one of them, let's at least be complimentary toward those who, in the Master's name, employ the other.

Salute to the Mighty

AND now that dust of reverence lies deep
On glory, and now that conquerors and kings
Are kin to slaves in equity of sleep,
We have a very multitude of things
For meditation: all the past is dead;
Ten thousand tyrants slumber under sand—
A tarnished crown upon each broken head,
A rusted scepter in each rotten hand.

Nebuchadnezzar's gardens bear no bloom;
White Carthage is an unremembered scene;
Proud Cleopatra, frigid in her tomb,
Has quite forgotten that she once was queen:
The law of the first Pharaoh is hid
With him, beneath the oldest pyramid.

CARL JOHN BOSTELMANN

The Book End

With occasional exceptions important enough to merit drastic criticism, THE WORLD TOMORROW *reviews only books which it believes, after careful evaluation, are of genuine worth.*

The Gospel According to Technocracy

Introduction to Technocracy. By Howard Scott and others. John Day Co. 90 cents.

The A B C of Technocracy. By Frank Arkright. Harper and Bros. $1.00.

Technocracy—An Interpretation. By Stuart Chase. John Day Co. (pamphlet). 25 cents.

An Outline of Technocracy. By Wayne W. Parrish. Farrar & Rinehart. $2.00.

For and Against Technocracy. Edited by J. George Frederick. Business Bourse. $2.50.

Life in a Technocracy. By Harold Loeb. Viking Press. $1.75.

THESE six books show that the literature of technocracy is in a state of appalling confusion because the technocrats themselves are appallingly confused. Officially, technocracy is a group of men, under the leadership of Howard Scott, who were until recently making an energy survey of North America as guests of Columbia University. Actually, technocracy has become a set of ideas having only a slight connection with that survey, ideas that were scattered about rather carelessly by Mr. Scott, amplified and explained by Wayne Parrish in his articles in the *New Outlook,* and later partially repudiated by the technocrats. Accordingly, we have the strange spectacle of a boom-literature on technocracy which deals largely with the extensions and distortions of the original subject. We have a little book by Howard Scott and his associates (Mr. Scott rarely seems to have the capacity to write anything by himself; his own speeches are ineffably foggy and rambling) called "Introduction to Technocracy —The Only Authorized Presentation," which is the dullest and least important of these six books, evidently because his associates forced Mr. Scott to eliminate from the book all but a few bare bones of stale data about energy. I am wholly unimpressed by this respectable residuum of technocracy because I regard the measurement of the world's energy as quite irrelevant to a fundamental discussion of social policy. If we could reduce the universe to a specified number of trillion ergs, how much nearer would that bring us to the fundamental problem of how to organize an industrial system which would abolish poverty and reward men on the basis of merit?

From the literature of the subject I gather that four central ideas exist in technocracy—ideas which I have summed up in a little five-cent pamphlet on Technocracy and Socialism, published by the League for Industrial Democracy, not substantial enough for a separate review: (1) machines are displacing men so rapidly that capitalism will collapse; (2) technicians could run the American industrial system to provide a standard of living ten times as high as the 1929 standard on a four-hour day four days a week; (3) our debt burden is 218 billion dollars, and will never be paid; (4) the price system must go and in its place some form of energy determinants must be used.

Of the six authors under discussion, Wayne Parrish discusses these points most completely and Stuart Chase most intelligently. If I had approximately a dollar to spend and wished to make that dollar go furthest in gaining a liberal education about technocracy, I should spend the first 25 cents for Mr. Chase's pamphlet, the next 20 cents for two articles on technocracy by Simeon Strunsky and Harold Ward in the New York Sunday *Times* of January 8 and January 22, the next 15 cents for an article by George Soule in the *New Republic* of December 28, the next 10 cents for an article by Paul Douglas in THE WORLD TOMORROW of January 18, and 40 cents for an article authorized by Howard Scott in the January *Harper's,* which contains as good an official statement on the subject as the book published by the John Day Company for a dollar. After that I should buy Wayne Parrish's book, Mr. Arkright's book, and the symposium edited by Mr. Frederick.

Mr. Loeb's book might be worth reading as an exercise in intelligent imagination, but I found it irrelevant for the reason that the technocrats have not told us what kind of a world they want. Mr. Loeb imagines what kind of a world they *might* want. Mr. Frederick does the most devastating job in discrediting the technocrats as statisticians, although at times he becomes a shrill special pleader for capitalism. Mr. Chase's pamphlet has the disadvantage that it was written before the worst mistakes of the technocrats were completely exposed, but he avoids any commitment to their figures and produces a sheaf of authentic machine miracles from his own files which rival the technocrats' overstatements quite satisfactorily.

When all this literature has been digested, technocracy emerges as a sadly depleted fund of exaggerated statistics, doubtful prophecies, and familiar generalizations. The technocrats have not proved that machines necessarily displace men permanently or that technicians could give us $20,000 a year with the four-hour day. Nor is the technocrats' notion of money and price any clearer or more acceptable than that of the average soap-box crank. Nevertheless, I agree with Stuart Chase that the technocrats have demonstrated a trend and that they have given America an immensely valuable contribution to our thinking. They have dramatized technological unemployment and started millions of men a-dreaming about a world where machines would be so used that they would give riches to everybody. And, of course, such a world *could* be built if we had the will to build it. Perhaps the four-hour day wouldn't give us all $20,000 a year, but why not try the six-hour day—and socialism?

The amusing thing in the whole technocratic epidemic is that Socialists have been saying 95 per cent of what the technocrats say for a decade, and saying it better, but the American public has gone on believing that socialism has something to do with free love, anarchy, and the dividing up of all the world's wealth equally among workers and loafers. Mr. Parrish has the naiveté

to assert that "technocracy will be found in possession of the first integrated scientific approach to our social problems." Did Mr. Parrish ever hear of the Gosplan, or Sidney Webb's *Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain*?

I prophesy that within two years technocracy will be as unfashionable in "cultured" circles as communism. Its implications lead inevitably in that direction. Meanwhile, Socialists must go on using the new stimulus to thought in technocracy and pointing out how socialism has a program and a movement for economic reconstruction, whereas technocracy has only a few significant footnotes.

PAUL BLANSHARD

Economics in the U. S. S. R.

Red Economics. Edited by Gerhard Dobbert. Houghton Mifflin Company. 327 pp. $3.00.

RED ECONOMICS is a collection of fifteen essays on various aspects of the economic situation in Russia by a list of authors and economists that includes Walter Duranty, W. H. Chamberlin and H. R. Knickerbocker. To be sure, some aspects of the economic life of Russia are omitted. There is almost nothing, for instance, on the trade unions. No adequate picture of the life of the workers is given. Walter Duranty, the correspondent of the New York *Times,* contributes a stimulating introduction and an able concluding chapter. The correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor,* William H. Chamberlin, devotes a chapter to the timely topic of "A Planned Economy".

As is inevitable in symposiums of this kind, there is some needless duplication, as for example in the chapter on the "Home Market", where there is material about the railroads which duplicates the preceding chapter on "Communication". Most of the chapters are rather heavy and lack the brilliant fascination of such economic writings as those of Stuart Chase. The volume, however, does give a picture of the complex changing economic scenery in the Soviet Union. The tremendous extent of construction and the difficult role which agriculture is playing in the projected socialistic state are clearly shown.

The book might have been more valuable had more attention been paid to the social aspects of economic life in Russia. On the whole the volume is a short treatment of the more important aspects of the economic life of the Soviet Union, which should be read by all those who try to keep abreast of the realities of what is happening in Russia today.

JEROME DAVIS

This Week's Anniversary

GEORGE WASHINGTON

BORN FEBRUARY 22, 1732

If I was to be called upon to draw a picture of the times and of Men, from what I have seen and heard, and in part know, I would in one word say that idleness, dissipation to extravagance, seem to have laid fast hold on most of them. That speculation—peculation—and an insatiable thirst for riches seems to have got the better of every other consideration and almost of every order of Men. That party disputes and personal quarrels are the great business of the day. . . . Connecticut wants no Massachusetts man in their corps; Massachusetts thinks there is no necessity for a Rhode Islander to be introduced amongst them. . . . Such a dearth of public spirit, and want of virtue, such stock-jobbing, and fertility in all low arts to obtain advantages of one kind or another. . . . I never saw before, and pray God I may never be witness to again. . . . The Connecticut troops will not be prevailed upon to stay longer than their terms . . . and such a dirty, mercenary spirit pervades the whole, that I should not be at all surprised at any disaster that may happen.—*Letters and Addresses,* edited by Professor Jonas Viles.

Many-Sided Christianity

Religion in Our Times. By Gaius Glenn Atkins. Round Table Press. 330 pp. $2.75.

The University of Experience. By Lynn Harold Hough. Harper and Bros. 122 pp. $1.00.

The Ground of Faith and the Chaos of Thought. By Oliver Chase Quick. Harper and Bros. 152 pp. $1.50.

My Neighbor Jesus—In the Light of His Own Language, People and Times. By George M. Lamsa. Harper and Bros. 148 pp. $1.50.

THAT Christianity means different things to different people is well illustrated by these four volumes. Each one approaches it from an angle so sharply divergent from the others that the books have nothing in common—except that they are talking about the same thing.

Religion in Our Times is a spirited review of the changes and developments in organized Christianity in America during the last 40 years. Dr. Hough's book is a collection of ten sermons interpretive of current movements in thought and life from the point of view of a liberal Christian philosopher. Canon Quick presents the Christian apologetic in the language of the schools. George Lamsa, an Assyrian, retells the story of Jesus with the fresh illumination that comes from the fact that he was born and bred to the use of the Aramaic language, as was Jesus himself.

It is the first book, however, that one turns to with the greatest eagerness. There is always a fascination in seeing how events in the midst of which one has been involved appear at the hands of a chronicler. And Dr. Atkins misses none of the high points in the story. From the days of Moody on, he deals with such trends as the emergence of the social gospel, the rise of the institutional church, the development of religious liberalism, the fundamentalist-modernist controversy, the Federal Council and the movement toward unity, the great crusades for this and that, the church and the War, church advertising, the cults, and so on. All the big headliners are there, from Billy Sunday to Bishop Manning; and the various movements come on the scene, from Christian Science to the Inter-Church World fiasco. But Dr. Atkins is too tender to the church to give the book the vivacity that some of the secular outlines of recent history have had. He is too much inside to laugh at it where it needs to be laughed at or to criticize sharply when such a word is called for, and the chapter on the churches and world peace is very disappointing for that reason. It contains some of the story of how the churches went

to war in 1917, but only as an interlude between the peace activities which preceded and followed; and it is rather apologetic at that. The final impression of the whole period one gets is a sad one. Great enthusiasms, tremendous crusades, significant movements; and what is there to show for it?

Harpers has, since last fall, been getting out monthly dollar volumes of sermons by outstanding American preachers. It is quite natural that Lynn Harold Hough should come early on that list, and his volume, *The University of Experience,* is enriched by an introduction by Reinhold Niebuhr. Dr. Hough has the gift of illuminating comment and description, his touch is light but penetrating, and he is never cheap. The sermons are unusually readable and stimulating. Anyone who likes a well-put metaphysical argument for belief in God from both the rational and empirical points of view will find it in the four lectures which comprise *The Ground of Faith and the Chaos of Thought.* Dr. Quick is Canon of St. Paul's, London, an Anglo-Catholic and a scholar.

Very different is George Lamsa's book. While *My Neighbor Jesus* represents a simple, orthodox, uncritical approach to the gospel story, it brings out the picturesque and colorful meaning of the figures of speech that Jesus used. Many of these are still current in the Aramaic language, although their significance has been lost in the translations through which the record has come to us.

PAUL JONES

WE RECOMMEND

Men Against Death. By Paul de Kruif. Harcourt, Brace. 363 pages. $3.50. Medical history, a comparative newcomer in the historical field, has its peculiar difficulties. It requires competence in medicine as much as history. Paul de Kruif is the outstanding popularizer of the field in America and he does his job very well, though one might easily do without nine-tenths of the stops within and at the end of his sentences. This book is in many ways a sequel to his *Microbe Hunters* and is just as interesting as the earlier volume. It deals with the fight against child-bed fever, diabetes, pernicious anemia, Rocky Mountain spotted fever, undulant fever, parrot fever, and syphilis. Then follow several chapters on the use of sunlight in disease. With all the progress that is being made by modern medicine and all the facilities for further research, the one urgent thing that remains is to make these benefits generally available by socializing medicine. Even that may not be as far off as it sometimes seems.

World Social Economic Planning. Room 600, 130 East 22nd St., New York City. $2.50. In three languages, this book contains some of the outstanding papers read at the 1931 World Social Economic Congress at Amsterdam, undoubtedly marking a milestone in international economic study. It is not a book for everyone, but a person moderately at home in economics will find it of great value. Those who contribute to it are all experts, and bringing as they do their ideas from a rich diversity of background, they display with a minimum of inevitable confusion a picture of the whole problem of adapting production to living standards, in world terms—the only terms, it is safe to say, that will ultimately be found entirely practicable. A companion volume extends the material on planning and summarizes the work of the Congress. The paper on The Present Growth of World Productive Capacity is an eye-opener, and contains abundant statistical matter in the chart technique developed by its author, Dr. Otto Neurath of Vienna. (Obtainable at same address.)

Gold and Monetary Stabilization. Edited by Quincy Wright. University of Chicago Press. $2.00. Gold is to our economic structure what a railway track is to a train. Sometimes it goes up, sometimes down; occasionally it gets washed out entirely and we travel on other bases. People are needlessly puzzled by the monetary question, for a little reading will at least induce understanding of existing theories. But alas, the experts differ. This book, however, is refreshing because of its freedom from dogma. Read, along with it, *A Primer of Money,* by Woodward and Rose; *The Crisis in the World's Monetary System,* by the great Swedish economist, Cassel; *Economic Disarmament,* by J. M. Richardson, an English production. You will then know so much you will be utterly mixed, and will be ready to teach the subject. But it will be good for you.

Washington Swindle Sheet. By William P. Helm. Albert and Charles Boni. $2.50. Whether you know it or not, your Senator at Washington, if he wishes, can squander the nation's money on personal junkets and extravagances, and still be within the law. Mr. Helm wants to wake the public up to so anomalous a condition, and presents, in 250 pages, a wealth of evidence, concretely stated, with names and other documentation, to show what your favorite Senator may or may not have done to distinguish himself along this line. Lynn Haines, in the old *Searchlight on Congress,* did the same thing once, a decade ago, in lesser compass; and it was worse in those days. But alas, there's still work for Mr. Roosevelt's lads to do. Will they?

Liberty, the Story of Cuba. By Horatio S. Rubens. Brewer, Warren and Putnam. 447 pages. $2.50. Horatio Rubens was the godfather of the Cuban revolution. As counsel-general of the Cuban Revolutionary Junta he handled the American end of the revolution—a very important place, since the aid from the American mainland proved one of the chief factors in Cuban independence. After freedom was achieved, he prevented American annexation. The book is rather overloaded with military affairs, but it does deal with many phases of the Cuban revolt about which little has been written.

Criminals and Politicians. A History of the Rackets' Red Rule. By Denis Tilden Lynch. New York. Macmillan Co. 256 pages. $2.00. Racketeering is one of the most interesting developments of recent times. It is a logical, if less respectable and less refined, outgrowth of the same social organization which produces wars, high tariffs, boom stock markets, split shares in corporations and similar phenomena. Racketeering antedates prohibition, though the "dry era" saw its tremendous growth. Among the most significant materials in this book are the demonstration that rackets flourish with police and political protection and are readily wiped out when this official connivance is withdrawn; that many labor unions are undiluted rackets; and that there are many cities which have refused to countenance racketeering. New York under the rule of Tammany and Chicago under Republican domination suffer most from this capitalist disease.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Course in Consumers' Problems

IN view of the growing interest in the hitherto much neglected consumer, Consumers' Research, in coöperation with the New School for Social Research, will give a course in Consumers' Problems which will deal with consumers' services and commodities by specific brand name and in simple non-technical terms. Its primary object is to consider the quality, utility and price of goods on the basis of economic and scientific data. The course will be given in a series of 12 lectures beginning Friday evening, February 17, at the New School, 66 West 12th Street, by D. H. Palmer, of the technical staff of Consumers' Research. The course will be of great value to those who cannot afford to spend a dollar unwisely in their daily purchasing. It will also be of particular interest to teachers and students of the new economics of consumption, since this course is the first of its kind to be given in the East, in that it deals with products and firms by name.

Circulating Library

A CIRCULATING library of books on social and economic problems has been established for the benefit of members of the League for Industrial Democracy and subscribers to THE WORLD TOMORROW at the offices of the former organization, 112 East 19th Street, New York. A fee of ten cents a week will be charged for each book borrowed. Plans are being made for the exchange of books between members during the summer on a rental basis, the rental to go to the L. I. D. for the purchase of additional volumes.

Who's Who in This Issue

Rosika Schwimmer is internationally known for her work in the peace movement.

John Irving Daniel is pastor of the First Church of Christ in Sharon, Connecticut.

Paul Blanshard is executive director of the City Affairs Committee of New York and is co-author with Norman Thomas of "What's the Matter with New York?"

Jerome Davis is professor of practical philanthropy at Yale University.

FASCISM

by Scott Nearing

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A Request

We should be grateful for the return of any extra copies our readers may have of our issues of January 4th, 11th, 18th or 25th of this year.

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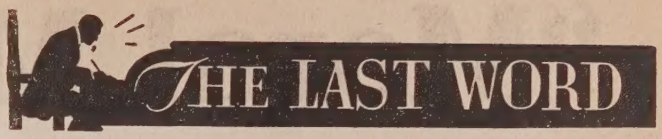


GOOD news comes from the Gran Chaco front. Bolivia reports that Paraguay is manufacturing huge quantities of poison gas. This, unless all of the wiseacres in our Department of Bigger and Better Wars have just been spoofing, means that the conflict has emerged from its cruel stage, and will now pass into a humane contest with tea served every afternoon in No Man's Land. We earnestly hope that Secretary of State Stimson will take note of these reassuring developments and see to it that nothing is done to prevent the resort to this eminently humane weapon.

The only trouble with the numerous gentlemen, mainly inspired by the Chemical Warfare Service and the Chemical Foundation for Imaginative Exaggeration, who see the gentility of war by gases is the danger in store for our perfume importers. When war becomes, as they insist it so nearly has, nothing but the exchange of delicious whiffs of dream-inducing compounds, what will happen to the honest men who for these many years have been adding to wistful feminine charm—under such trade names as Rose of the Dawn, Opal of the Night, or Essence de Pauvre Poisson—by a clever blending of heliotrope, new-mown hay, cinnamon, and oil of asphalt?

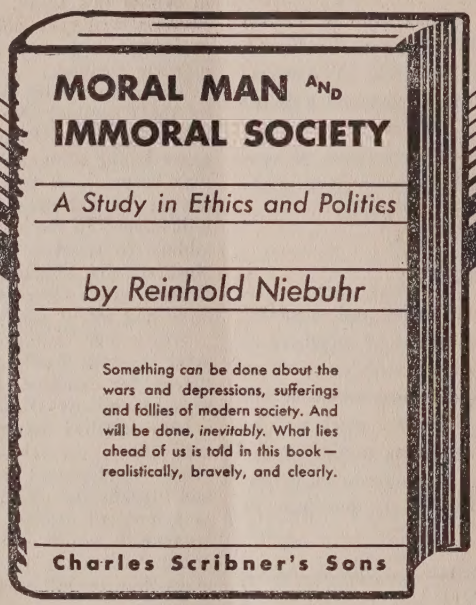
No, it just won't do to get rid of war. There are too many good reasons. Look at the ammunition and armament manufacturers, for example, so ably aided in their fight against the arms embargo bill at Washington by the lame duck Bingham and the freshly hatched Senator, Lonergan, from arms-making Connecticut. They just felt awful about the danger of the bill to world peace, employment, security, and the war on crows, gangsters, and blackheads. Were they interested in such a mundane matter as armament profits? Not they! Does a pickpocket take money because he wants it for himself? Of course not; he merely is a public benefactor, seeking a redistribution of wealth in simpler ways than by inflation, devaluation of the dollar, or heavy income taxes.

I HAVE been a trifle peeved because not one of the prophets about the make-up of Mr. Roosevelt's Cabinet once mentioned Bernarr McFadden for Secretary of the Exterior. It seems to me that the well-known editor of *Babies—Just Babies* owes a political debt to her publisher, Bernarr, who in turn has certainly deserved well of the nation for showing, these many years, how easy it is to be a perfect physical specimen if the brain be left entirely out of account. The old-time theologians ought to like Bernarr, though I'm sure they don't; for no man in our generation has done more to separate mind and matter. But the radio advertisers probably spiked the deal, since they have been slow in signing up Mrs. Curtis Dall for a broadcast. "My idea is to be commercial," said Mrs. Dall as quoted by the New York *Times* of February 11, "but as yet I have had no offers." This, after the attractive young woman had announced that she would "be open to suggestions with regard to giving radio talks."

But that's not the way to go about it, Mrs. Dall. First you must show that nothing can keep you from broadcasting—the way I did. Why, as long ago as the 1924 Democratic National Convention, I cast my voice on the ether waves, and under the auspices, too, of Graham MacNamee. Stepping up near the broadcasting booth, I yelled in that cuddly tone which goes over so well (or at any rate so often) "Yoo, hoo! Normala!" After that I began to receive offers right away—the first one coming from a Tammany policeman. Mrs. Dall, I note, wants only those products to recommend which are consistent with her public position. Well, in that case, if she intends to keep up her broadcasting in commercial ballyhoos, she might do well to speak on behalf of soup—it goes down so fast.

Eccentricus

"Moral Man and Immoral Society"


MORAL MAN AND IMMORAL SOCIETY
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Editor The World Tomorrow

MAN as an individual, says Dr. Niebuhr, is generally idealistic—a moral character—but collectively mankind is immoral. That is one reason why the world finds itself in the situation now existing. The highest ideals which the individual may express are ideals which he can never realize in social and collective terms.

People will not want to believe the ideas presented in this book. Nobody ever wants to believe it is necessary to have an operation. But, in the present social crisis, as in the case of an operation, he who believes in surgery soonest has the greatest chance to survive.

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